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Juan de Mena as "añadidas a las trezientas, segun dicen, por mandado del rey don Juan." These are wrongly ascribed to Juan de Mena.

The second part of M. Foulché-Delbosc's study is an examination of the metre of Juan de Mena's poem and is a work of capital importance for the history of Spanish versification. It contains, in the words of the Spanish translator many interesting and important observations on the intricate problem of the *arte mayor*, "el más rotundo, sonoro, grandilocuente y heróico de los metros en la poesía castellana."

M. Foulché-Delbosc examines in great detail the article by Morel-Fatio: *L'arte mayor et l'hendécasyllabe dans la poésie castillane du XV^e siècle et du commencement du XVI^e siècle*, which appeared in *Romania*, for 1894. He discusses its various points and calls attention to those in which he differs with M. Morel-Fatio.

The result of M. Foulché-Delbosc's investigations is the present critical edition of the *Laberinto*, of which the text only is now published, the variant readings and introductory matter being reserved for another volume.

A comparison of this text with that of Martin Nucio, Antwerp, 1552, shows many and important changes, as one may see from the following verses selected at random. The reading of the critical text is given first:

- IV. 1. Como non creo que fuessen menores.
Como que creo que fuessen menores.

A negative is here clearly required. The gloss of Fernan Nuñez upon the verse is: "Ha se de leer el principio desta copla con interrogacion y yronica: ca assi quiere dezir Juan de Mena que no cree el ser menos loables los hechos de los varones Españoles que de los Romanos y otras generaciones."

- VI. 8. cobdiçando for cobijando.
VIII. 5. E las siete Pleyas que Atlas otea.
Y las siete Pleyadas enellas otea.
XI. 4. Europa por pocas con Libia que junta.
Do quasi Europa con Lybia se junta.
XVII. 2. Maguer que se mire de drecho en drecho, for
derecho en derecho.
8. Mi vista culpando por non abastante, for por
no ser bastante.
XX. 5. E resta en el medio cubierta de flores for Y
está en el m.

- L. 2. E la çirenayca region de paganos, for Y la
Sarracénica, r. d. p.
6. Getulia, Bisante, con mas de otra tanta, for
Getulia prouincia con, etc.
LI. 1. El mar assi mesmo se nos representa, for El
mar esto mesmo, etc.

While in a few cases it is hard to see why (in the absence of variants) the editor has chosen a particular reading, such an examination as we have been able to make shows that this text is a vast improvement upon the older printed ones. It is a very scholarly and painstaking performance, such as the known competency of M. Foulché-Delbosc and his intimate acquaintance with the poem would lead us to expect from him. Indeed it is not at all likely that we will have ever a better edition of the *Laberinto* than this one.

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FRENCH LITERATURE.

PAUL GAUTIER: *Madame de Staël et Napoléon*.
Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 1903. Pp. v, 422.

MADAME DE STAËL: *Dix Années d'Exil*. Édition nouvelle d'après les manuscrits, avec une introduction, des notes et un appendice, par Paul Gautier, Docteur ès Lettres. Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 1904. Pp. xxvii, 421.

In *Madame de Staël et Napoléon*, M. Gautier has not only given us a great deal of additional information in regard to the famous duel between these two champions, but he has also made the whole epoch appear in a new light. The author has had access to the archives at Coppet and at the château de Broglie; he has also made researches in the *Archives Nationales* and the *Archives du ministère des Affaires étrangères*. Of this abundant new material and of the vast literature on the subject, M. Gautier has made excellent use; and as he, in addition to being an accurate scholar, is the master of an admirable literary style, his book is not only a historical work, *très documenté*, but also a fascinating story.

We have interesting *Portraits* of men like

Necker, Fouché and Bernadotte, to mention only a few, and above all stand out in bold relief the two opponents: on the one hand the animated, energetic and passionate, but noble and idealistic figure of Mme de Staël, whose lack of tact and of moderation and whose sufferings and incurable ennui only make her the more pathetic; on the other hand, the cold, calculating and inflexible Napoleon, surrounded by his spies and agents whom he dares not trust out of his sight, and watching anxiously his empire, so brilliant in appearance, but in reality unstable and continually in need of new victories in order to preserve its integrity.

In the posthumous and unfinished *Dix Années d'Exil*, Mme de Staël has told the story of her conflict with Napoleon. The work is itself a blow aimed at Napoleon and the abuse of arbitrary power. She describes in detail the horrors of the exile which she was made to endure, the unjust destruction of her work, *De l'Allemagne*, and finally her flight from Geneva. Not the least interesting part of the narrative is her appreciation of the Russian nation.

Of this well-known book, M. Gautier has given us an excellent edition, based on the original manuscripts. He has thus been able to include a great many passages which the first editor, M. Auguste de Staël, thought it prudent to omit in 1821. M. Gautier also gives the full names of persons who in that edition were designated indirectly, or by an asterisk, or by fictitious names. He has also furnished the book with many valuable notes and a very interesting appendix, containing many hitherto unpublished letters by Mme de Staël.

The edition is distinguished by the same careful, painstaking study of the sources and of contemporary events which characterizes his *Mme de Staël et Napoléon*.

When the first news of the splendid victories of an obscure Corsican general, who was at the head of the French armies in Italy, reached Paris, no one was more enthusiastic over his success than the brilliant daughter of Necker. While Bonaparte was still in Italy the impulsive and romantic Mme de Staël had written glowing letters to the new hero, and she desired nothing more than to meet the object of her admiration in whom she

hoped to find a champion of liberty and a partisan of her own political views.

Mme de Staël was at this time a person of some importance both in politics and in society. She was known as the author of several books and her *salon* was the rendez-vous of a group of brilliant men.

Mme de Staël had been invited by Talleyrand who was then Minister of Foreign Affairs to be present at his reception of Bonaparte which was to take place at eleven o'clock in the morning. Mme de Staël arrived at ten. This first meeting with Bonaparte was disappointing, he paid but little attention to her and she was, strange to say, oppressed and ill at ease. Nevertheless, she continued to admire him as much as ever and sought every possible opportunity of meeting him. Bonaparte, on the other hand, was extremely cautious. He refused an invitation to a ball which she gave and, in general, avoided her as much as possible. He disliked her intrigues and political schemes and feared that she would attempt to make him another Benjamin Constant. He thought that the impulsive and imprudent Mme de Staël might compromise him politically and it was of vital importance to him to have the good will of the Directory. When Mme de Staël left Paris in 1798, she had not succeeded in winning the sympathy of Bonaparte, much less had she gained any ascendancy over him.

In the last part of 1798 or the beginning of 1799, while Bonaparte was in Egypt, Mme de Staël, who at this time favored a republican form of government, began to formulate her political opinions in a work which she entitled *Des circonstances actuelles qui peuvent terminer la Révolution, et des Principes qui doivent fonder la République en France*. Of this unpublished little work, M. Gautier has given a very interesting account in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, for November 1, 1899. Political events, especially the coup d'État de Brumaire prevented her from publishing it. In *Des circonstances, etc.*, Mme de Staël still refers to Bonaparte as "the intrepid warrior, the most *réfléchi penseur*, the most extraordinary genius which history has yet produced," and she looks to him to carry out the policy which she is outlining. She wants a constitutional government, strong enough to put an end to the revolutionary

state of affairs, she would educate the masses and arouse an *esprit public*; she pleads for tolerance, pity and justice, and thinks that the Protestant religion ought to be introduced as the state religion.

While Mme de Staël was thus planning a change of government in accordance with her own political ideas, she did not realize that a new and greater power had arisen, which was to sweep everything before it and upset the ambitious schemes both of royalists and republicans. Even after the 18th Brumaire she and her friends still believed that the triumph of Bonaparte would mean the triumph of liberty. No one suspected that it might be difficult to get rid of Bonaparte if he should grow too ambitious. As late as 1802, LaFayette, writing to Bonaparte in order to explain his vote on the consulate for life, said: "The 18th brumaire has saved France."

A special reason for the satisfaction of Mme de Staël was the success of her friend Benjamin Constant, whom Bonaparte had, somewhat reluctantly, made a member of the Tribunat. She still hoped that she would herself be able to dominate Bonaparte as she dominated Constant. Her salon was to be the real seat of the government.

In truth it was the worst time possible for the realization of her ambitious plans.

It soon became apparent that her ideas were not those of Bonaparte. He was becoming uneasy on account of the criticisms and intrigues of Mme de Staël. At the same time he realized the importance of winning such a power over to his side and he attempted at first a reconciliation. What do you wish? he asks of her, through the intermediary of his gentle brother, Joseph. "It is not a question of what I wish, but of what I think," answered Mme de Staël, proudly.

While still asking all kinds of favors of Bonaparte and while still hoping that he will realize all her plans, she is before long working decidedly in the opposition. She becomes the leading spirit in a little conspiracy to denounce tyranny. On the third of January, 1800, the first attack on Bonaparte was made by one of the Tribunes. The next evening amid a numerous assembly in the salon of Mme de Staël, Benjamin Constant whispers to her: "Your salon is now filled with people whom you like; if I speak it will be deserted; think about it!" Mme de Staël, not suspecting that Bonaparte would dare to persecute her,

answered resolutely: "*Il faut suivre sa conviction.*" Constant accordingly made his speech which bristled with allusions to Bonaparte and which was full of defiance against his policy. A few days later Mme de Staël, who gave a dinner in honor of Constant, received in the course of a few hours ten letters of regrets! Her friends were frightened at the audacity of the speech and the fury of Bonaparte. Divining that it was Mme de Staël who had inspired the address of Constant, Bonaparte directed his revenge especially against her. At his instigation both the Jacobin and the royalist press is filled with bitter and scurrilous attacks which spared her neither as a politician nor as a woman.

The poor Mme de Staël is thunderstruck, she was still sincerely and enthusiastically in favor of Bonaparte, but she had been led, through her desire for glory and renown as well as by her love of liberty, to act rashly. Now she suddenly finds herself alone, deserted by her best friends, attacked by the press and threatened with exile. By order of Bonaparte, his minister of police, Fouché, invited Mme de Staël to retire for some days to her property at St. Ouen, near Paris. This she did, but after her return to the capital she makes matters worse by renewing her attempts to meet Bonaparte who studiously avoids seeing her, at the same time that he continues his persecution. He was attempting to reform the very loose morals of the time and one of his grounds for complaint against Mme de Staël was the freedom she allowed herself socially and especially her *liaison* with Benjamin Constant.

Mme de Staël and her friends, on the other hand, desired nothing more than to become reconciled with Bonaparte, but it was now too late; he replied to all their advances with coldness and even with insults. Henceforth, Mme de Staël became his bitter enemy, although at this time she would, as Joseph Bonaparte said, have adored the First Consul if he had shown even a little kindness.

Far from considering Mme de Staël a mean adversary, Bonaparte found it necessary to keep well informed about the moves and the plans of Mme de Staël. His own position, indeed, was often precarious even when it seemed most secure and brilliant.

In April, 1800, Mme de Staël published a book called *De la littérature considérée dans ses rapports*

avec les institutions sociales. This book whose central doctrine is the theory of "perfectibility," the indefinite progress of the human mind, is a defense of the ideas of the philosophers of the eighteenth century and of the Revolution. The discussion which the book aroused, far from being purely literary, as Chateaubriand thought, was especially a political one: in reality the work was a challenge and an ultimatum to Bonaparte in the name of the Revolution.

Bonaparte understood the meaning of *De la littérature*, but found it most prudent to conceal his anger. It was on the eve of the battle of Marengo and a triumphant return to France would make an attack on Mme de Staël unnecessary. Then again she had, as usual, not understood how to choose the opportune moment: her book, while it pleased the philosophical coterie, had found the general public opinion hostile.

The brilliant victory of Marengo, followed by the treaty of peace of Lunéville, assured the triumph of the First Consul. Nothing was at this time more welcome to the French than to have a strong master and to enjoy peace.

Even at this time Bonaparte might have won the support of Mme de Staël who was still dazzled by his brilliant genius and who could not bear to be left alone. She is reported to have said: "*Je veux le forcer à s'occuper de moi.*"

In January, 1802, Bonaparte caused the "elimination" of twenty members of the Tribunal, among whom was Benjamin Constant, the mouth-piece of Mme de Staël. To the flood of epigrams with which she greeted this action, Bonaparte replied by formally warning her to remain quiet and not to stand in his way. At the same time he fears her influence and her intrigues and he admits to his brothers: *Je ne lui ferai jamais de mal inutilement.*

A circumstance which especially irritated Mme de Staël was the Concordat and the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in France. She now tried to form a veritable conspiracy against the First Consul and dreams of a new 18th *brumaire*, in which Bernadotte was to play the rôle of Bonaparte. But the spies of Bonaparte were everywhere and he was well informed about the complot which he disposed of as quickly as possible in order to avoid unnecessary excitement. Having

sent word to Bernadotte that he would have him shot on the *Place du Carrousel* if he continued his opposition, he judged that this prudent and hesitating general would henceforth not be dangerous; he caused the arrest of some of the other members of the plot and then bides his time in order to vent his wrath on Mme de Staël. Meanwhile, pressing onward toward despotism, Bonaparte is proclaimed consul for life and his constitutional power is enlarged.

Mme de Staël is as energetic as ever in her opposition. She inspired her friend Camille Jordan to write the anonymous pamphlet: *Vrai sens du vote national sur le Consulat à vie*. Shortly afterwards appeared a kind of political testament by Necker which Mme de Staël had induced him to write in 1801, but whose publication had been postponed to a more favorable time. She thought that the French shared her adoration for her father and imagined that they would listen to the swan-song of an ex-minister of Louis XVI. In this work, *Dernières vues de politique et de finance*, Necker naïvely indicates to the despotic First Consul what he considered the best form of government in France, viz., a republic!

Everybody understood that this book was inspired by Mme de Staël; Bonaparte did not take the trouble to hold Necker responsible, but dealt once more his daughter a crushing blow: "Never," he exclaimed, "shall Necker's daughter re-enter Paris."

During the winter of 1802-1803, which she thus was forced to spend in Switzerland, Mme de Staël tries to console herself by literary pursuits. She had for sometime been at work on a novel, *Delphine*, which was published in December, 1802, and which had an immediate and great success.

Mme de Staël had fondly hoped that *Delphine*, a "purely literary" and, as it proved very popular novel, would be the means of inducing Bonaparte to allow her to return to Paris. On the contrary *Delphine* only increased his anger. He considered the book which contained a plea in favor of divorce immoral and antisocial, i. e., as opposing the social reform which he was endeavoring to bring about.

Mme de Staël was an individualist, a disciple of Rousseau, holding that the rights of the individual were superior to those of society, while Bonaparte

strongly contended for the supremacy of society and the social conventions.

Moreover, *Delphine* attacked the Catholic religion which Bonaparte had just introduced as the state-religion of France. Again, in *Delphine* the author took occasion to praise the English as a free, moral and religious nation, whose institutions she wished to see imitated by France. Now, the English nation was Bonaparte's pet aversion. Finally, *Delphine* is an eloquent plea for personal and political liberty. And after all this the author actually hoped that her novel would find favor with the First Consul!

Not only had *Delphine* increased the anger of Bonaparte; it had also hurt the feelings of Josephine; it was obnoxious to the Catholics and to the partisans of absolutism and it had excited the jealousy of the literary women. It was thus emphatically a time for the author to withdraw from publicity and to live in retirement. This she did not realize, but on the contrary redoubled her efforts to obtain permission to return to Paris—but without success.

Finally, in September, 1803, she risks going to Mafliers, ten leagues from Paris, and writes to Bonaparte asking to be allowed to return there. The First Consul, at that time very busy with the preparations for the "descent" upon England, seems to have granted her request, and Mme de Staël might have remained there quietly if it had not been for the jealousy of some women authors, especially Mme de Genlis, who circulated all kinds of reports about her and especially hinted to Bonaparte that the house of Mme de Staël was the rendez-vous for his political opponents. The suspicions and fears of Bonaparte were awakened and he ordered Mme de Staël to leave France in twenty-four hours. In spite of the efforts of Joseph Bonaparte and others to have the order revoked, the First Consul remained inflexible and Mme de Staël was finally obliged to leave her cherished France. This time she went to Germany where she continued her fight for liberty against despotism and where she gathered material for her great book *De l'Allemagne*, that warm defense of a vanquished people and eloquent protestation of right against might.

Henceforth, Mme de Staël became more than ever the champion of liberty, of enthusiasm and

of patriotism. Far from being vanquished by this exile, it was the means of giving her added strength and influence.

The splendid reception accorded her everywhere in Germany was a recompense for the disdain of Bonaparte. She made use of all her eloquence in order to excite the patriotism of Germany and to make the tyranny of Bonaparte hated. In A. W. v. Schlegel, whom she made the tutor of her children, Mme de Staël had found a valuable recruit. Schlegel was opposed to Bonaparte as well as to French literature and French influence generally and helped Mme de Staël to a better understanding of the literature and the philosophy of Germany.

From this time on Mme de Staël is a European celebrity whom Bonaparte cannot attack without awakening for her the sympathy of Europe. She had sown hatred and mistrust for her enemy and the fruits will not be wanting.

Mme de Staël's travels in Germany came to an abrupt end by the death of Necker. This was a terrible blow to her who had all her life idolized her father and it was also a great loss to her in her struggles against Bonaparte, as Necker had been her constant and prudent adviser. It had, however, also the effect of awakening the more serious side of her nature and of turning her thoughts toward religion.

Still continuing her efforts to be allowed to return to Paris, Mme de Staël delayed her proposed journey to Italy as long as there remained a glimmer of hope. Napoleon, however, who had just been proclaimed Emperor, found it quite enough to have the many letters of Mme de Staël circulating at this time when the opposition against him was very strong, without having the writer herself with her ready tongue aiding the spirit of discontent. It was shortly after the execution of the Duc d'Enghien, that flagrant violation of justice which excited the indignation of all Europe. The process of General Moreau had also been very unpopular so that the public opinion was for the moment almost entirely against Napoleon.

All that Mme de Staël could obtain was the protection of the agents of France during her travels in Italy. Nor was Napoleon willing to order the payment of the vast sum of money which Necker had loaned to the French government and

which his daughter was now urgently demanding. He first wanted to have some definite assurance of her future favorable attitude toward his policy. After Mme de Staël's return from Italy, Napoleon, who was then on the eve of his great campaign of 1805, gave orders to the *préfet* of Geneva not to grant her passports for France. He was afraid of the possible consequences of Mme de Staël's presence in Paris; *tous les éléments de discord*, he writes to Fouché, *il faut les éloigner de Paris*. She is, accordingly, obliged to spend the winter at Coppet, where, surrounded by many friends, she passes the time with private theatricals and with the composition of her new novel, *Corinne*.

But her ennui and her longing for France are too strong. She has permission to come to within forty leagues of Paris, and she has never given up the hope of being granted entire freedom. After more than half a year's endless solicitations, Fouché finally gives her leave to approach within twelve leagues of Paris, but Napoleon, who from distant Poland kept his eye on everything that was going on in his capital, ordered Fouché to enforce the forty league limit. In his letters referring to Mme de Staël, he calls her a *méchante intrigante* and *cette coquaine de Mme de Staël*. It is curious to note that Napoleon, five hundred leagues from Paris and in the midst of an arduous and difficult campaign, deems it necessary to write ten letters concerning Mme de Staël in the course of six months. Napoleon's brilliant position was, in fact, never secure and his fear of Mme de Staël is largely explained by the instability of his empire. He feared those who formed the public opinion, he detested the ideologues who were only waiting to hear of a battle lost by Napoleon in order to instigate a new revolution. Therefore, he orders Fouché to "chase all the intriguers out of Paris."

Mme de Staël had hoped that her new book, *Corinne*, published in 1807, would better her position: it was only a novel and it showed that she did not occupy herself with politics. Napoleon, however, found a good deal to object to in *Corinne*. In the first place it was decidedly anti-French and pro-English. Then the author contends that enthusiasm, love of liberty, and nobility of character are necessary to the life of a nation; that a people is formed by its government and that the morale of a nation is profoundly affected by its

institutions,—in short that the citizen must have a share in the great political affairs in order to be saved from decadence. All this was exceedingly objectionable to the despotic Napoleon. Then Mme de Staël had courageously refused to put a single line in her book in order to flatter her enemy, although she had been urged to do so by the minister of police who promised her that such an *éloge* would mean the granting of all her wishes. For these reasons, *Corinne*, which added immensely to Mme de Staël's reputation only made Napoleon more hostile and closed more effectually than ever the gates of the capital.

Tired of her "exile" at Coppet, Mme de Staël resolved to visit Germany again and in the beginning of 1808 she arrived in Vienna. Napoleon is informed of every move; he knows that public opinion in Vienna is decidedly anti-French, and he takes it for granted that *Corinne*, who is fêted not only as a celebrated author, but also as the enemy and the victim of his tyranny, will do her best to increase the hostility against him.

He no longer considers her *comme une folle*, but as one who is dangerous to public tranquillity. He is very much displeased with her vast correspondence, especially with her letters to Gentz, the agent of the English police and one of his most determined enemies. He orders his agents to watch her still more closely and forbids the ambassadors of France to receive her.

Mme de Staël returned to Coppet in July, 1808. She was now the living protestation against tyranny and was becoming a more important figure than before. However, she begins to feel the tightening of the lines, she cannot travel freely without the aid of the French ambassador, and she is, according to a new order, not allowed within fifty leagues of Paris. In 1808 and 1809 Napoleon had met with serious reverses in Spain and Austria, and Paris was greatly excited. He is afraid of having anyone stir up the smouldering fire.

Even the friends of *Corinne* are now suspected and it becomes dangerous for them to visit Coppet. She begins to suffer terribly from lonesomeness and ennui, the plague of her life. In despair she thinks of emigrating to America. However, she must first have her new work on Germany published, and she has made up her mind that it must appear in Paris.

Having obtained permission to live at a distance of forty leagues from Paris she leaves Coppet in 1810 with the manuscript of *De l'Allemagne*.

Instead of living prudently in seclusion, she is, as the police expressed it, "surrounded by a court" and she plays the rôle of a queen.

The two first volumes of *De l'Allemagne* had been approved by the censors and the proof sheets of the third were corrected, when the author is suddenly ordered to give up the manuscript and the proof sheets of her new book and to leave within forty-eight hours. The real manuscript is happily rescued by her son Auguste, and Mme de Staël succeeds in satisfying the police with a poor copy. After many desperate, but fruitless efforts to obtain an audience of the Emperor and permission to remain in France, Mme de Staël slowly and sadly sets out for what is now almost her prison, Coppet.

After her departure the whole edition of *De l'Allemagne* was, at the instigation of the Emperor, destroyed by the police. Those who had received copies of the work were ordered to give them up. One copy was traced to Mme de Staël, but upon her assertion that it was not in Switzerland and that she neither could nor would give it up, the police had to be satisfied with the promise that she would not publish the work on the Continent.

Why did Napoleon, when the regular censors had approved the book, find it advisable to suppress it, especially as he himself had first ordered only the omission of certain passages. This question may be answered in the words of Goethe who wrote in 1814: "The French police, intelligent enough to understand that a work like this must increase the self-confidence of the Germans, prudently caused its destruction . . . At the present moment the book produces an astonishing effect. *If it had existed earlier, people would have attributed to it an influence on the great events which have just taken place.*"

In fact, the work of Mme de Staël, her own words in the preface of 1813 to the contrary, notwithstanding, is from beginning to end an appeal to the Germans to unite and to cast off the foreign yoke. Heinrich Heine said that hatred of the Emperor was the soul of the book, but Napoleon found a special grievance in its anti-French tendencies. Corinne was too much of a cosmopoli-

tan and sympathized too strongly with Germany and England. Napoleon would have literature as well as the army contribute to the glory of France, just as a Corneille had done in the days of Louis XIV, and he found the independent individualism of a Mme de Staël and a Chateaubriand obnoxious.

From the autumn of 1810, Mme de Staël is a veritable prisoner at Coppet; not only is it impossible for her to travel, even in the neighboring districts of France, but her friends could not visit her without running the risk of being exiled themselves.

M. de Barante, the *préfet* of Geneva, was dismissed from his office on account, as was generally supposed, of his friendship for Corinne. The new *préfet*, officious in his zeal, made her life miserable by his petty persecutions. Her friend and collaborator, Schlegel, whom Napoleon detested on account of his anti-French opinions, was ordered to leave Coppet. Mme Récamier and Mathieu de Montmorenci, her dearest friends, who dared to come to see her at Coppet are forbidden to enter Paris. This was a most cruel blow to Mme de Staël who loved above all the society of her friends.

One of her trusted servants at Coppet, was, as the family learned years afterwards, a detective who reported every little thing to the French government. All the letters which she wrote as well as those she received were read by the police.

In the autumn of 1811, she tried to obtain a passport in order to embark for America; this was refused her, nor was she allowed to go to Rome which was her desire in case the passport for America was not granted.

The situation had become intolerable and she finally resolved to execute her long meditated plan of flight. In May, 1812, she went out for what seemed to be an afternoon drive, but which was in reality the beginning of a bold flight. She has given a graphic account of this thrilling and dangerous journey in her *Dix Années d'Exil*. She reached Vienna safely, but was prevented from taking the direct route to St. Petersburg, because of the French armies which had already penetrated into Russia. She was thus obliged to go by way of Moscow, where she was very hospitably received. In St. Petersburg where the most influ-

ential opponents of Napoleon were assembled she was given a triumphant welcome.

In St. Petersburg Mme de Staël had a couple of interviews with Emperor Alexander, who won her admiration by his liberal opinions and his firmness in his opposition to Napoleon. She was immensely flattered by his attentions and with the prospect of playing an important political rôle herself, and she left St. Petersburg for Stockholm with the intention of inducing the vacillating Bernadotte to begin active operations together with Russia against Napoleon. In Sweden her house became, in the words of the Prussian envoy, the *répaire* of all the enemies of France and of Napoleon in Sweden. She attempted also to make Austria and Prussia join the coalition and tried as usual in every way to awaken hatred of Napoleon, "the scourge of the world."

Mme de Staël was undoubtedly the chief author of the brochure, *Sur le système continental et sur ses rapports avec la Suède*, an "appeal to the public opinion of Europe," and an extremely violent attack on Napoleon, which appeared in the beginning of 1813 and which created a great sensation. Her *Essai sur le suicide*, April, 1813, apparently an ordinary, philosophical treatise, is filled with allusions to Napoleon and appeals to Europe to cast off the yoke of the tyrant. She is now a power to be reckoned with.

In Sweden, Corinne is beyond the reach of Napoleon, but she does not venture to go to Copenhagen to visit her friend Friederike Brun, as Denmark is still friendly to the Emperor. The real goal of the journey, however, was England, and after Bernadotte had finally made up his mind to take the field against the French and had gone to Stralsund, taking with him Schlegel and her son Albert, Mme de Staël set sail for London accompanied by her son Auguste and her daughter Albertine. In October, 1813, appeared her great work, *De l'Allemagne*; the first edition was exhausted in three days. Napoleon was meeting with great reverses and *De l'Allemagne* seemed to indicate the means of deliverance from the tyrant: patriotism, devotion and enthusiasm.

Mme de Staël had been received in London with every mark of distinction, but with the fall of Napoleon, her popularity and influence vastly increased. All London was at her feet. The

English papers called her the first lady in the world; even the Bourbons found it necessary to try to win the support of their former enemy.

The news of the abdication of Napoleon and the entry into Paris of the allied forces caused Mme de Staël both joy and sorrow. For while she hated Napoleon she loved France and liberty. Her wish had been that "Napoleon should be victorious and killed,"—that would have saved France from the hated tyrant and from the equally hateful invasion of the allies. She had not fully realized that not only Napoleon, but France itself was the object of attack and she had fondly hoped, that France could have "repulsed the strangers with one arm and overthrown tyranny with the other." It was, accordingly, with a feeling of oppression that, upon her arrival in France after ten years' of exile, she finds sentinels in foreign uniforms everywhere, even at the *Opéra*.

Her *salon* became the most brilliant in Paris at a time when the *salons* played a very important part in French politics; indeed, the saying was: "Three powers must be counted in Europe: England, Russia and Mme de Staël." All the great men thronged to see her, foremost among them the hero of the day, Emperor Alexander. To Mme de Staël's honor be it said, however, that she did not stoop to insult her fallen enemy, as so many of her contemporaries did, but she continued her plea for liberty and contributed more than any one else to found the great liberal party in France.

One of the strongest characteristics of Mme de Staël was her generosity, her pity for the down-trodden; she was "always on the side of the victims." It was this innate pity and kindness which had caused her, when she was told by a friend that two hired assassins had planned to go to Elba for the purpose of killing Napoleon, to hurry to King Joseph and to offer to go *herself* to Elba in order to warn the Emperor!

This same generosity was one of the reasons for her change of attitude toward Napoleon during the Hundred Days,—a change which she later on stoutly denied. During this time, Napoleon who felt the necessity of the support of the constitutional and liberal parties, tried to conciliate Mme de Staël just as he had succeeded in conciliating the two champions of liberty, Benjamin Constant and LaFayette by his extreme moderation, his

liberal policy and by his adoption of a constitution.

Mme de Staël herself could not help being somewhat shaken in her uncompromising attitude. She hated the allies, the enemies not only of Napoleon, as she was herself, but of her beloved France, and she was afraid that the liberty and perhaps the very existence of her country would be at stake should Napoleon be vanquished a second time. Hence, Mme de Staël thought the only safety would be in the success of Napoleon; strange to say his cause seemed to have become the cause of liberty!

Mme de Staël declared herself satisfied with the constitution. An action favorable to Napoleon who desired to postpone the final struggle as long as possible, was the writing of a letter (the author of which is, as M. Gautier has shown, undoubtedly Mme de Staël), addressed ostensibly to Mr. Crawford, Minister of the United States to France who was on the point of going to England, but really intended for the eyes of the English ministry. In this eloquent and patriotic letter she tries to ward off the impending conflict by showing the strength of the resources of France and, at the same time, the desire of Napoleon for peace. The French government, on the other hand, seemed disposed to pay the sum loaned by Necker and which Mme de Staël had so often demanded. It was urgently needed just at this time for the *dot* of her daughter, Albertine.

It is to be regretted, however, that Mme de Staël, a little later, when the cause of Napoleon seemed hopeless, lost no time in writing, even before Waterloo, another letter, this time to the Emperor Alexander, in which she refers to Napoleon as "*l'homme que nous détestons*," and flatters Alexander, whom she now considers the master of the situation, as the man in whom "Liberty, France, and even the human race placed its hope!" After Waterloo, Mme de Staël again played an important rôle and continued to defend the cause of liberty and of France.

Such is, in very brief outline, the story of the struggle of Mme de Staël against Napoleon, the duel between the "empress of thought" and the Emperor of the sword; not only a struggle between two persons by nature instinctively hostile to each other; not only a political fight, but a

conflict of principles, a radical difference of opinion on the relations of politics and morals, and of the state and the individual. Napoleon instinctively hated the ideologists, whose conception of life was quite different from his. He was a practical man of action, who in his statesmanship did not bother about the morals of his policy, who took no account of the individual when it was a question of public welfare. *Salus populi suprema lex esto*; he said: "the first law is necessity, the first justice is the public weal." His reign is a reaction against the ideology of the Revolution and he made, in the words of Mme de Staël, the world a pedestal for his egotism.

Mme de Staël, on the other hand, was an ideologist and believed in the absolute sovereignty of morals and philosophy. She is always talking about right, justice, liberty, humanity and duty. She is an individualist. "The supreme law is justice." She considers "infernal" the maxim that politics is above morals and she cannot forgive Napoleon for "having founded despotism upon immorality."

Napoleon might possibly with more tact and care have turned the influence of Mme de Staël in his favor; as it was he hurt himself by persecuting her as he did. This he recognized himself when he said to his brother Lucien during the Hundred Days: "I was wrong, Mme de Staël has made more enemies for me in her exile than she would have made in France."

Which of the two champions finally won this long and bitter struggle? Already in 1808 Napoleon gave us the answer, when he said: "Fontanes, do you know what I admire most in the world? It is the powerlessness of force to organize anything. There are only two powers in the world, the sword and the mind. . . . In the long run the sword is always vanquished by the mind." Mme de Staël was the representative of the "mind," of the public opinion, of the outraged morale and it is her lasting glory to have proclaimed the principles of dignity and of liberty "without which the human race would never be anything but a horde of barbarians or a lot of slaves."

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